



## WORLD AFFAIRS

## Begin's resignation means postponement of Kohl's visit to Israel

German-Israeli ties had never seen as close as on the eve of Chancellor Kohl's planned visit to Jerusalem. It was from Bonn that the Israelis first learnt of Prime Minister Begin's resignation.

The reason for this early information was not any special intimacy but the fact that Dr Kohl and a party of nearly 100 journalists were poised to fly to Israel.

The Chancellor agreed with the Israeli government that the visit should be postponed.

This will not impose a burden on German-Israeli ties. They are basically sound, although not free from periodic upsets.

In Jerusalem Helmut Kohl's readiness to visit Israel so soon after assuming office was appreciated and welcomed. His predecessor, Helmut Schmidt, had long been unwilling to make the visit and was in the end unable to.

Now he has had to postpone his visit at the shortest notice the Chancellor has been well advised not to overdo his consideration for Israel.

He plans to go ahead and visit several Arab countries early next month regardless whether or not he is able to visit Israel first.

Israel currently has other issues on its mind than the Bonn Chancellor's visit and is consequently less interested in his friendly overtures than it might otherwise have been (and fundamentally remains).

Mr Begin is not just anyone. He is a statesman so astute a critic as the late

Nahum Goldmann felt was the greatest Israel had had in its 35-year history, including its first head of government, David Ben Gurion.

Goldmann's judgement was based both on Mr Begin's "good" deeds and on his "bad" ones, on his role as leader of an underground terrorist organisation and as the Prime Minister who held out the hand of peace to Egypt.

Reconciliation with Israel's main adversary after four wars was undoubtedly the foremost political, diplomatic and personal achievement of Menachem Begin.

His resignation at a time when he can no longer be of benefit to his country may one day be seen as yet another major achievement of Begin the statesman.

The reasons, personal and political, that prompted him to reach his decision are self-evident. Yet it comes as a surprise after nearly 30 years spent contesting his country's political leadership with a sentiment of divine mission.

Leading statesmen usually fail to realise when their day is done. Mr Begin has always been a man of his own decisions, a sick and sorely-troubled man and a head of government whose domestic and foreign policies were dogged by lack of success.

Yet no-one really imagined he would resign. He threatened to do so in March last year if the Knesset refused to give him a vote of confidence. He lost the vote but stayed in office.

But that was before the Lebanon campaign, before the refugee massacres

at Sabra and Shatila and before the death of his wife and of his Deputy Premier and personal friend Simcha Ehrlich.

A first sign of his impending resignation was the seemingly unmotivated cancellation of a visit to Washington just before his 70th birthday in July.

The deadline for his momentous announcement of his determination to resign, on the eve of Chancellor Kohl's visit, seems to have been no coincidence.

Mr Begin had personally extended the invitation to the new Bonn Chancellor, but it was no secret that he did not relish the prospect of shaking hands with a German head of government and listening to the German national anthem being played by an Israeli military band.

The more imminent the prospect grew, the less he liked it. It may not have influenced his decision to resign as such but it will certainly have influenced his timing emotionally.

Mr Begin was long implacably anti-German, both for general and for personal reasons. He just didn't feel able to put a personal end to the darkest chapter in German history.

So his resignation may well serve the cause of German-Israeli relations, which could well do with improvement. Just as it may ease the quest for peace in the Middle East, a peace to which Menachem Begin has made a historic contribution.

Heinz Mörsberger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 August 1983)

## Ministerial session reveals the extent of EEC problems

Brussels merely served to prove the point.

Everyone insists on maintaining the Common Agricultural Policy in the sector where farmers in their country benefit (always assuming the farmers' vote is important enough).

France makes common cause with Holland, Ireland and Denmark in defending, say, the butter mountain, whereas Britain is equally keen on butter subsidies, but because cuts would increase its important bill.

Further unsatisfactory repercussions of this inability to make concessions for the sake of integration are the failure to establish an economic and monetary union, a monetary system that includes neither Britain nor Greece and a common foreign policy that doesn't deserve the name.

The European Community was not even able to take joint action at the Geneva talks on Palestine. Low-ranking observers took part, wielding their ballpoint pens on the EEC's behalf. There was no sign of a Western European policy.

The list of unfinished business could be continued virtually ad infinitum. In 1972, for instance, a common industrial policy was resolved at a Common Market summit meeting.

All that came of it were bids to bolster ailing industries. There has certainly been no sign of European high tech as a result.

Periodic mention is made in the European Parliament at Strasbourg of the need for a greater common defence effort. But few European feel called on to do anything; most are content to rely on America.

Money naturally lies at the root of it all. In politics as in everyday life it may not make you happy but you have to have it.

At the end of the Brussels EEC summit last March we were told that the Stuttgart summit in June would be a working session with a tremendous determination and output.

In Stuttgart the Council of Ministers was called on to reach decision. The spirit in which they have set about it has now been seen in Brussels. To take and not to count the cost seems to be their motto.

If only one knew, as a Frenchman, a German or a Luxembourg, ways and means of looking after peace and common interests without the European Community, one could but counsel resigning from the EEC.

An efficient, smaller community could then be set up, unhampered by tiresome

## HOME AFFAIRS

## Soviet reaction to the Chancellor returns to command post

Continued from page 1

Soviet air space seems prohibited. A Paris newspaper which says that a nation was now taking a mask and revealing its true character, that of a barbarian well overshoot the mark.

So do American politicians clamouring for the toughest such as calling off the dogs, and possibly recall a statement by President Reagan in his office.

"The Soviet Union," he says, "deceives wherever it can." The presence of mind by US Secretary of State Shultz has been noted and skipping the final meeting, including talks with Mr. Gorbachev, is even more so.

He feels it is even more so this stage to maintain the Soviet Foreign Minister and has to say about the Indian consequences for East-West relations. The explanations Moscow will not the excuses will determine the final document at Madrid.

It will also determine the crucial round of Geneva talks. The explanations Moscow will not the excuses will determine the final document at Madrid.

Visions of a Soviet missile in the unarmed commercial aircraft of the motherhood allowance, alarmingly symbolic as those nuclear submarines patrolling coastal waters.

How can Moscow hope to such visions from the minds of the Geneva conference? What possible building measures can have been reached?

Heinz Mörsberger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 August 1983)

partners who are reluctant to part.

But this is not a realistic picture. The future of Western Europe looks gloomy were it not for the Lower Saxony's Prime Minister, which is essential to safeguard peace.

Common Market countries in favour of a united Europe must go ahead without those who are unwilling or, as yet, unable.

Spending Common Market money for the former is a waste, whereas it badly need assistance.

The EEC must stop being a halt by countries that are not interested in it. Willy Brandt was with consternation and outrage made this point 10 years ago at a union conference in Paris. He was then and still is.

Herman

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2 September 1983)

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## Recipe for economic cure gets cold reception

## StiddeutscheZeitung

There has been opposition on both sides of the political spectrum to economic and social policy proposals by the CDU Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht.

Albrecht wants, among other things, to fight unemployment by giving tax relief for business and increasing value added tax to make up the financial deficit.

Objectors include Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blum, the mayor of Frankfurt, Walter Wallmann (CDU), and the Bavarian Finance Minister, Max Streibl (CSU).

According to Associated Press, Blum said workers should be given the tax relief. It was they who were bearing the brunt of austerity measures.

Income tax had risen twice as fast as pay increases. If this continued, the unions would be forced to make unreasonable wage demands.

The German news agency dpa reports that Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU) will oppose the proposals and work towards lower income tax.

Streibl has suggested the introduction of a tax-free portion of salaries as soon as 1985/86.

Albrecht's 10 points are: 1. Government measures have not been enough to achieve a sustained upturn and reduce unemployment.

2. The psychological upswing the change of government caused in the business community is waning. Genuine economic measures, are needed.

3. The rise in unemployment has many causes including too small returns on investment and too high wages. The social security costs to be borne by employers have made labour costs even higher and reduced profits still further.

As a result, liquidity has diminished drastically and the volume of investments is commensurately lower.

Business has lost its ability to respond quickly and adequately to changed conditions. Some examples of managerial lack of flexibility: Companies find themselves in trouble because the social provisions that have to be made prevent the shut-down of individual production plants.

## Legal handicap

Legal provisions to prevent the dismissal of staff lead to overtime rather than new hiring. The co-determination provisions have bureaucratized managerial decisions, favouring the preservation of obsolete structures.

Youth protection regulations make it more difficult to place apprentices. Before an industry can be established in a particular site it has to wade through a maze of red tape. Administrative courts contribute their share to the delay of possible investments. Labour has become too expensive, especially due to



Ernst Albrecht... panacea.

(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

non-wage costs. The social system is expensive and uneconomical, imposing a heavy burden on employers. The unemployment problem is aggravated further because the yardstick used in financing the social security system is usually based on the labour factor.

4. Tax on business must be reduced noticeably (by about 20 per cent). The suggestion that profits ploughed back into business be given more tax relief than those that are withdrawn should be seriously considered.

## Tax priority

5. Cuts in income tax would be helpful. If simultaneous tax relief for business and labour puts too much of a strain on the budget, priority must be given to business in the interests of reducing unemployment.

6. Reduced overall tax revenues would be unrealistic in the next four years. The tax relief for business would therefore have to be offset by increased VAT and various sales taxes.

7. Labour costs must come down in real terms. Among the ways of achieving this are: reduced absenteeism, lower health insurance contributions by strengthening the interest of the insured in the thrifty use of funds and the uncoupling of the social net financing from work contracts.

8. The social burdens of economic adaptation processes must be borne primarily by the public. The financial and administrative hurdles for people wanting to go into business — especially the small and medium sized variety — must be removed.

9. Everybody has a right to meaningful work; but not everybody can have a highly paid job. The discussion over the benefits and dangers of shorter working lives and working hours should soon lead to specific action. More flexibility is equally important.

10. The distribution mechanisms are in need of a sweeping review. The enormous national product created in factories must be justly distributed. It is doubtful whether wages alone can do this. In any event, capital participation by the staff and later by the nation as a whole must become an important social task.

(Stiddeutsche Zeitung, 1 September 1983)

cutbacks in the social security system and tax relief for business to provide industry with more scope.

So far, the government has steered a middle-of-the-road course. It is trying to prevent any abrupt changes and balance the budget gradually by reducing social security spending and tightening the system.

But this gingerly approach will not cause a quick upturn.

There are also other trouble spots. Bonn has to cut back surplus agricultural production because the EEC cannot pay. But it also must ensure the livelihood of Germany's farmers.

The destruction of forests demands new measures that will cost both business and the consumer.

Kohl will have to come up with an extraordinary programme.

There is, of course, no reason why he should do everything himself. He should make his team pull up their socks.

He should resist his inclination to procrastinate on difficult decisions unless everybody agrees to them.

There is a tough autumn ahead.

Wolfgang Mauersberger

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 August 1983)

## Olive branch waved in the coalition

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff (FDP) has announced that he is prepared to make a reconciliation with his opponent, CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss.

However he is not only wise but crafty as well. The date on which he will be ready to take this step is the evening of 25 September, election day in Hesse and Bremen.

This also reveals what triggered the dispute.

Count Lambsdorff is bothered that his image in the media has been declining since he became part of the CDU/CSU government.

Strauss keeps telling the voters that Count Lambsdorff is not only redundant but that he is responsible for a number of economic policy blunders.

The bone of contention between the two men is not so much different views but considerations of power politics.

Strauss's advice to Walter Wallmann, the CDU candidate for the premiership of Hesse, that he enter into a grand coalition with the SPD, is tantamount to ignoring the existence of the FDP.

Strauss was deliberately vague in his prediction that the world would soon stop revolving around Count Lambsdorff. This was evidently a reference to the Flick affair (involving party donations).

Strauss would have been wise not to have made the remark since he was unable to elaborate on it.

If the Chancellor were not anyway determined to keep Count Lambsdorff in his cabinet, Strauss's remarks would make him do so.

The FDP minister is extremely valuable to Kohl and his CDU because of his proxy function in fighting it out with the CSU.

He can drop this function once the FDP — with Strauss's able though unwilling support — manages to return to the State assembly in Hesse.

(Stiddeutsche Zeitung, 31 August 1983)



## Asylum applicant jumps to death from courtroom

Kemal Altun, a 23-year-old Turkish applicant for political asylum, committed suicide by jumping out of the sixth-floor window of a West Berlin court.

Proceedings were about to start on the second day of an administrative court case to decide whether or not he should be deported. He ran to the open window as soon as the police had unlocked his handcuffs, jumped out and landed on the grass behind the court building. He died almost immediately.

He felt his powers of concentration were declining. "Kemal Altun was scared," his lawyer said. He did not trust

the legal system in Turkey and was afraid of being tortured in custody there.

Time and again he insisted that the Turkish authorities wanted him for political reasons and not in connection with a criminal offence.

The Ankara police were interested in information about his brother, a former Social Democratic MP who was now living in exile in Paris.

Right-wing political opponents had constantly accused him of being involved in the murder of a former Turkish Cabinet Minister who has been a leading Nationalist politician.

The politician's family and friends were so powerful, Altun repeatedly told his lawyer, that they could even have taken the law into their own hands.

The case was extremely complicated in its legal ramifications. Altun arrived in West Berlin illegally in January 1981. Two sisters of his lived in the Berlin borough of Kreuzberg.

Eight months later he applied for asylum and an alien's passport. He said he couldn't apply to the Turkish consulate because his name was on the wanted list for political offences.

He was accused of having helped to set up a left-wing students' association and wrongfully accused of having been associated with the murder of a former Turkish Cabinet Minister.

A warrant for his arrest on charges of incitement to murder was issued by a

military court in Ankara on 18 May 1982.

After the German authorities made enquiries in the Turkish capital an extradition request was made, but not in connection with the murder charge.

That would not have led to extradition because Altun would have faced a possible death penalty in his native country.

Instead the extradition request was made in connection with charges of trying to interfere with the course of justice.

Altun was said to have hidden the murderers and destroyed evidence. He was then taken into custody in Berlin.

When a local court ruled that a deportation order was legal because there could be no question of political activities being involved he was imprisoned pending deportation on 9 September 1982.

This state of affairs was in no way changed when the Federal Refugees Office in Zimndorf, near Nuremberg, ruled that he was a bona fide applicant for political asylum.

Recognition as an asylum-seeker does not invariably rule out extradition. In this case, the asylum commissioner appointed by the Interior Ministry appealed against the ruling.

So that left the Berlin administrative court with the task of deciding whether Altun could be granted political asylum.

Kemal Altun stood a fair chance of not being extradited. Various organisations had spoken up in his favour.

Scrutiny of the Turkish extradition application had also, in connection with a Turkish court judgment, given rise to doubts whether the charges of trying to pervert justice were justified.

But Altun was clearly unaware of this.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 August 1983)

## Doubts raised about sense of extradition regulations

Kemal Altun, 23, lost his way in the jungle of the law at a point where no-one but a legal expert could possibly have found his way out of the maze of provisions.

Seeing no way out, he chose suicide rather than the uncertain outcome of his protracted legal bid to gain political asylum and avert extradition to Turkey.

What happened to him is dreadful and makes one wonder whether the law as it stands makes sense. Germans are upset and the international echo is sure to resound.

The Altun case was no longer a purely German affair. The UN high commissioner for refugees had intervened in Bonn in a bid to prevent Altun's extradition.

The case is such a tragic one that we must take care not to let our emotions run away with us. It must be seen against a background that poses virtually insuperable problems for Bonn, and not just Bonn.

● In 1949, when the right of asylum was incorporated in Article 16 of Basic Law for political refugees no-one could have anticipated the degree to which discrimination and persecution on political, racial and religious grounds was to snowball in so many countries all over the world.

At the end of last year 41,857 foreign nationals had been granted political asylum in the Federal Republic of Ger-

many, while about 160,000 cases were pending.

● No-one in 1949 could have anticipated the degree to which the right of asylum was to be abused by aliens who were patently economic rather than political refugees.

● Something had to be done to stem the tide, it was generally agreed. Has Altun's suicide brought about a complete change in the situation?

One reaction has been to lay the blame for an undoubted human tragedy on members of the Bonn government. This line of argument must surely be dismissed without further ado.

A more valid point that could well be considered is whether, after years of tolerance, a feeling of growing impatience with aliens might not have arisen that could affect legal rulings.

There must certainly be a rethink about extraditing people to Turkey. Bonn is naturally bound by treaty provisions, but these agreements were reached at a time when there was a democratic government in power in Ankara.

Since the military take-over three years ago the legal groundwork may not have changed but the moral foundations of such agreements most definitely have.

Altun's death is a reminder to reappraise the terms on which business between Bonn and Ankara is conducted.

Claus-Dietrich Möhrke  
(Rheinische Post, 31 August 1983)



Tragic and complex case, Altun

## Suicide reveals case of legal complexity

Bewilderment and dismay at the suicide of Kemal Altun, a 23-year-old Turkish refugee, are taking part in a blockade of statements have been made by the German government and opposition parties.

His despairing resolve, it was agreed, could have been due to the impression of being overwhelmed by the mills of German law. The legal position was complex, consisting of both asylum and extradition provisions.

Bonn legislation passed last year does not have the power to annul decisions reached by the courts with asylum proceedings. The laws, therefore, are justified.

Someone who is ruled out of political asylum can still be extradited in connection with general charges (as opposed to political offences).

Experts feel this provision leaves a door to manipulation wide open. Human rights organisations are warning of Bonn's legal arm.

On political asylum, which is the most generous in the world, increasingly undermined.

Kemal Altun had already been known as a bona fide applicant for political asylum. The extradition decision made by the Turkish government was in connection with criminal charges he was said to have committed in his native country.

International agreements on extradition are based on the condition that people who are extradited are charged with the offences referred to in the extradition order.

Germany has approved extradition orders since the military takeover in Turkey in September 1980. The military authorities have submitted applications in 156 cases.

Eighteen people were returned to Turkey under extradition orders. Jochen Vogel and Jürgen Scheel, both Social Democrats, were Ministers in Bonn.

The remainder were cases of Hans Engelhard, the present Federal President, who had to be extradited to Turkey.

In no case have there been any rumours of torture of people extradited. Rumours have certainly reached Bonn.

So the Bonn government has to live on the assumption that Turkey

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## GERMANY

## Nuclear protest movement has uphill task

The "hot autumn" of anti-nuclear protests began in Mütlangen, Swabia, 1 September as an anti-war demonstration to commemorate the outbreak of World War II and to warn of nuclear disaster.

The hope of being heard is unlikely. There is nothing to indicate that the likelihood of agreement on disarmament or even arms control remains high. There is nothing to indicate that Geneva talks will succeed.

Germany is the centre of the most crucial of the world's problems. It is the centre of the most crucial of the world's problems.

CDU politician Kurt Biedenkopf is becoming stronger: Heinrich Albertz, a Protestant minister who was mayor of West Berlin, and Günter Grass and Heinrich Lübke are taking part in a blockade of military installations. In taking this action they are breaking traffic laws.

Albertz says: "Protest against weapons of mass destruction is more important than traffic laws. What matters are the basic questions of legitimacy and legality."

He believes that the German government does not have the power to annul decisions reached by the courts with asylum proceedings. The laws, therefore, are justified.

There are many reasons to get angry about the cynical way in which politicians treat the disarmament issue. But there is not a single convincing argument to show that the two-track NATO system (to deploy the new generation of missiles if arms talks fail) and the on political asylum, which is the most generous in the world, increasingly undermined.

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## Judges reprimanded after anti-missiles stand

Thirty-five judges and prosecutors have been reprimanded after they put an advertisement in a newspaper declaring that they opposed the missile deployment.

The advertisement, in the conservative daily, *Lübecker Nachrichten*, said the deployment would violate the Constitution.

What makes this action unusual is the fact that the Lübeck judiciary has never had the reputation of being particularly rebellious.

On the contrary, it has always been regarded as a bastion of conservatism in Germany's northernmost state where many years of CDU government have rubbed off on it.

Schleswig-Holstein's Justice Minister, Henning Schwarz, responded as expected. Ministry spokesmen said the 35 could be disciplined.

The minister obtained a legal opinion and Lübeck Presiding Judge Herbert Tietgen told the 35 that they were in breach of their duties as civil servants.

They received a written reprimand which has become a permanent part of their personnel files. The reprimand concerns the manner in which the advertisement was presented, especially the fact that they identified themselves as "judges and prosecutors" and referred to their "professional ethics," this jeopardising the reputation of the judiciary.

It is true that the law demands that civil servants exercise "moderation and restraint" in political matters. But views differ widely on how this is to be interpreted in each case.

According to the signatories, their advertisement does not violate the civil service code because the mention of their professions was kept in general terms and was indispensable for the understanding of the advertisement.

After all, the advertisement put forward legal arguments such as these, the signatories say:

● The deployment of new weapons without a law to this effect is unconstitutional;

● The new weapons endanger the constitutional right to physical inviolability and increase the "danger to our lives manifold." In times of tension, the Soviet Union could be goaded into a

series of far-reaching political significances.

A municipality only had the right to interfere in matters that concern planning and zoning and the like.

In such cases, however, municipal action would have to be based on concrete plans — which was not the case either in Lindau or in the other municipalities whose representatives oppose the stationing of the weapons as a mere "precaution against an eventuality."

In support of its line of argument, the state cites two constitutional court rulings passed in 1958.

The rulings nullified Hamburg and Bremen laws on an opinion survey on the nuclear weapons issue and called on the state of Hesse to take action against municipalities intending to conduct such polls on their own.

The state of Bavaria particularly stresses that the court rulings restrict the activities of municipal councils to local affairs.

preventive nuclear attack on West Germany, and the danger of a nuclear war due to technical failure is being promoted in an "insufferable way."

● The fact that the president of the USA can decide on the use of new weapons without consulting German authorities is incompatible with the Constitution.

The Lübeck 35 are not alone with their reservations.

Even so, the Kiel Justice Ministry wasted no time in taking action. The reprimand they received has a political dimension as well: it not only weighed the signatories' actions; it also wanted to present the official government definition of "state interests."

The fact that the Schleswig-Holstein government is not dragging its feet when it comes to taking preventive action against the "hot autumn" is demonstrated by yet another Lübeck case;

Prosecutors and police recently searched the premises of the leftist student union, generally known by its acronym ASTA, at the Lübeck Medical School. The police confiscated several copies of the student paper *Springender Punkt*.

The paper urged its readers to participate in blockades of US military installations and direct action in the Bremerhaven region. An official investigation by the prosecutors has begun.

The *Lübecker Nachrichten*, which carried the advertisement, distanced itself from it in that very issue, writing: "This advertisement will serve as a welcome whitewash for all demonstrators who believe that they can ignore the law on grounds of conscience."

Where Lübeck is concerned, the hot autumn has already begun.

Karsten Plog  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 21 August 1983)

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ing by its promises, it being in Ankara's interest to do so.

"They know for sure that we would stop extraditing people immediately if anyone who was returned was tortured in Turkey," a Justice Ministry official comments.

At a time when the Altun case was not widely publicised the authorities in Bonn gave his Berlin lawyer an assurance that he would be allowed sufficient time to arrange for defence witnesses to be summonsed from Turkey.

He was also given to understand that after the public debate in connection with the Altun case his client was unlikely to be extradited.

Yet that would have been an equally unsatisfactory state of affairs from the legal viewpoint. Why should one man not be extradited when others had been? Surely that would be a breach of the principle of equality.

Bonn even has an interest in abiding by extradition procedures in ties with Turkey. It is an interest that derives from the principle of reciprocity.

There are regular instances of German citizens imprisoned in Turkey who are wanted in Germany for, say, drug running offences.

Turkey would be unlikely to extradite them if Germany stopped extraditing Turks. So there is more to the problem than meets the eye.

Rolf Clement  
(Mannheimer Morgen, 31 August 1983)

## Councils rebel over arms deployment

their resolutions. Otherwise it would be done by decree.

The small community of Echling, north of Munich, has also rebelled.

The state of Bavaria's efforts to make the municipalities give in peacefully have been successful only in the case of Munich, which adopted a similar resolution last year and then reversed it.

The State has always stressed that the laws governing municipalities give them no right to decide on defence issues. Only the Federal government could.

Under Bavarian law, town councils are administrative bodies rather than parliaments with a governing party and an opposition, says the State. They are therefore not authorised to make deci-

sions of far-reaching political significance.

A municipality only had the right to interfere in matters that concern planning and zoning and the like.

In such cases, however, municipal action would have to be based on concrete plans — which was not the case either in Lindau or in the other municipalities whose representatives oppose the stationing of the weapons as a mere "precaution against an eventuality."

In support of its line of argument, the state cites two constitutional court rulings passed in 1958.

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The state of Bavaria particularly stresses that the court rulings restrict the activities of municipal councils to local affairs.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 August 1983)



# The Great Government Handout keeps doling out the cash

Federal handouts, including subsidies for industry, are constantly increasing despite declarations that they should be reduced.

The Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, said in August last year when he was Leader of the Opposition, that subsidies should be cut by a specific across-the-board percentage.

Heiner Geissler, now the Minister for Youth, Family Affairs and Health, said in July last year when he was an Opposition spokesman, that financial assistance and subsidies should be cut by five or 10 per cent.

They were words that sounded good then. But they have been forgotten.

Figures now issued show that payments by the Federal government, including tax relief, have risen from DM27.2bn in 1982 to DM28.6bn this year. Next year they are likely to reach DM29bn. But they are vastly understated.

The figures are in a Subsidies Report which the government must present every two years to let the public know how much money is being handed out and to whom.

However, they are selective. They deal with only about a third of the volume of handouts.

One salient omission is the Federal railway, the Bundesbahn. It is getting DM14bn this year, but it gets no mention in the report. Nor do farm subsidies, in the form of excessive produce prices.

Other omissions are State benefits such as child allowances, education subsidies and supplementary pension payments.

A more realistic figure for the overall volume of Federal, state and municipal subsidies plus the nation's share in EEC subsidies would be in the region of DM80bn to DM90bn.

Everybody has his hand out: farmers, people building homes, tax relief acrobats, visitors to Berlin, steelmakers, the mines, shipyards, aircraft manufacturers, computer makers, the coastal regions, fishermen...

Almost two-thirds of West Germany's territory has been declared as being entitled to subsidies under the structural policy of Bonn and the Länder. And especially at election time politicians tend to discover their "structural hearts".

Subsidies are addictive. Granting them is easy. Cutting them off is hard, as is shown by such major recipients as the Bundesbahn, farmers and the coal-mining industry.

They have been beneficiaries for decades and yet they are further from solving their structural problems than ever before.

The Bundesbahn is on the verge of financial collapse and the farm subsidies could easily break the EEC bank. The coal-mining industry is in the throes of its worst post-war crisis.

The past few years have seen branches of industry that previously weathered hard times on their own drawn into the subsidies vortex, including steelmakers and shipbuilders.

The reason for this is unscrupulous subsidising by our foreign competitors. This has led to unfair competition on international markets.

Italian, French, British and Belgian steelmakers alone received around DM80bn in subsidies from 1975 until 1982.

This has enabled them to sell steel on the German market at up to DM200 a ton less than German steel.

It is not surprising that German steelmakers have had to shut down some of their plant, which rank among the most modern in the world.

It is also not surprising that they are now calling for state help.

For Arbed-Saarstahl alone, subsidies by now amount to DM130,000 per job.

One subsidy leads to another. Whole branches of business are already at loggerheads with each other because one receives more than the other.

Non-subsidised companies consider themselves discriminated against because they have to compete with subsidised ones — whose subsidies they have to help finance through tax.

There is yet another danger inherent in subsidies: they amount to an indirect state guarantee of full employment, thus increasing the risk of excessive pay deals.

The parties to collective bargaining can shed their overall economic responsibility because the state foots the bill for the economic consequence of excessive pay deals.

Subsidies can make sense, but they can also be stupid. They can be help towards self-help or towards lethargy.

The latter seems to prevail. Billions of the taxpayers' money go into unsound investments and help perpetuate obsolete plants or delay adaptation processes.

They lead to a quasi "state controlled economy," as Otto Wolff von Amerongen said.

gen, president of the standing chamber of commerce and industry (DIHT), puts it. And all this ostensibly for the sake of securing jobs, which is an illusion in the long run.

Once the state finds itself unable to raise the money needed for the subsidies the company that had been artificially kept alive for years will have to throw in the towel or be modernised with the help of belated subsidies. Both of which cost jobs.

Excess production capacity created with government help reduce profits in the neighbouring countries. This means that subsidising states export their own unemployment to countries that still uphold the principle of free enterprise.

This was experienced not only by Germany's steelmakers and shipyards but also by the man-made fibre industry.

Years of subsidising the Italian fibre industry thus forced German fibre-makers to drastically cut down their own production.

A prime example of the unfair competition and social injustice caused by subsidies is the German housing business which guzzles up an annual DM20bn in state benefits.

The housing market remains politically explosive. The flood of money that goes into housing bypasses such social problem groups as large or broken families, pensioners, the disabled and the homeless.

In millions of cases these social underdogs contribute to the well-being of the wealthy with their tax payments.

The taxpayer thus finances a considerable part of the billions worth of assets amassed by housing companies.

To say that there is a shortage of one

million housing units does not mean the government's subsidising of the housing business keeps falling short, be it 500,000 or two million.

There are no reliable yardsticks which to measure genuine needs because state intervention in housing business keeps falling position.

By keeping the cost of housing construction and rents down, the state creates an artificial demand.

But this demand does not create enough low-cost apartments.

What can be done? DIHT recommends across-the-board cuts in subsidies by a uniform percentage.

But this would be only the first step. The next step would be to limit on all subsidies.

Once the time has run out — would be the third step — a parliamentary committee would assess the necessity of continuing individual subsidies.

This is a favourable moment to implement this: there is no public and there is heavy pressure on politicians to economise. There is a spectacular example to go by: land has opted for an across-the-board cut in subsidies.

Why is Bonn hesitating? The Finance Minister afraid of the reaction of the chief executives of the big, rally-owned companies?

The government should not be deterred from reducing the subsidies because other countries consider the practice, says DIHT.

Defensive subsidies would be the world-wide protectionism that the obvious solution is to hit subsidised imports with duties.

though this would be the end of trade, DIHT says.

A survey among young business men came up with a revealing picture: 70 per cent of those who received subsidies said that they would have continued their business plans even without subsidies.

Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany, said that the subsidies were not the cause of the crisis in the shipbuilding industry.

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## Now builds over rise in cost of export insurance

to increase sharply the cost of insuring exports against payment default, which has come under heavy criticism by industry and in Bonn.

It is believed that export insurance will rise by between 35 and 50 per cent, with some firms having to pay 80 per cent more.

spokesman for industry says the rise is based on unrealistic figures in criticism that costs for industry will increase and that jobs will be lost.

Government export insurance is provided by the Hamburg-based Hermes company. It has been in the business for 50 years.

The aim is to protect exporters from payment default in other countries. Because Bonn does not want to use subsidies to underwrite payments, as is done in some other countries, Hermes has to charge premiums. It is therefore a genuine insurance company.

The premium for an average deal of five years cover amounts to between 0.3 and four per cent of the sale.

the insurance covers economic risks and political hazards like war or nationalisation.

But the premium does not secure full payment. Hermes pays the exporter 85 per cent of the invoice amount in case of default due to political reasons.

terms are, compared with the promotion of other industrial companies, not attractive. As a result, many firms do not take out state cover.

only nine per cent of German exporters are insured, compared with 30 per cent for France, Britain and

all exporters even qualify. A deal worth more than DM100m must be considered "worthy of promotion".

the details of the relevant provisions, which are wide open to interpretation, have been worked out by the Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMA) in which

Continued from page 6

shipbuilding industry's decline in 1983 is more open to interpretation, it has been worked out by the Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMA) in which

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Country	1982	1978
Saudi Arabia	21.7	20.9
Soviet Union	15.0	8.4
Libya	12.4	8.0
Iraq	10.8	2.0
Brazil	9.9	9.4
Nigeria	8.5	5.4
Algeria	7.5	7.8
South Africa	6.3	2.8
Poland	5.8	5.5
Iran	5.4	6.4
Indonesia	4.8	2.0
Argentina	3.8	1.9
China	3.0	2.8
Egypt	2.5	1.0
Yugoslavia	2.2	2.0
Greece	1.9	1.8
Turkey	1.9	1.5
Spain	1.6	1.5
India	1.6	0.5
United Arab Emirates	1.5	1.3
Total	150.3	112.3

ministries, industry and the trade unions jointly decide what is to be insured.

No guarantee may be issued if default is predictable. But even here Bonn has always proved flexible.

If a business partner who has generally been sound is suddenly faced with a crisis Bonn does not loudly announce that exports to that country will no longer be guaranteed.

The course of action in such cases is to procrastinate.

Bonn went so far as to change the cash deals of German construction companies into credit deals when the Iraqi discontinued cash payments after their war with Iran started.

Bonn guarantees export deals worth about DM150bn. Most of this federal commitment is accounted for by the Third World where 34 per cent of German exports carry insurance cover.

The present total coverage here is about DM75bn, half of which is accounted for by the Opec countries.

The East Bloc countries account for about 15 per cent. The rest is accounted for by the Western industrial nations and others.

Most of Germany's exports are plant and machinery: 44 per cent of Hermes business in 1982.

The construction industry ranks second with just under 18 per cent, followed by road vehicles, ships and aircraft (13 per cent) and electrical and precision goods (11 per cent).

The rest is accounted for by iron, sheet metal and pipes (just under eight per cent) and miscellaneous (just under seven per cent).

The growing number of crisis areas in the world, the general economic situation and the near insolvencies of many countries have led to a rise in claims and Bonn has had to honour its guarantees.

This year is expected to close with a loss of about DM1bn, which will almost eat up the DM1.3bn in earnings achieved so far.

Since both Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff expect future losses of DM1bn a year it has been decided to increase the premiums.

The envisaged increase is said to be between 35 and 50 per cent, which means that about DM350m of the anti-

Continued on page 7

(Bremser Nachrichten, 25 August 1983)

culated DM1bn deficit will be paid by industry.

But some branches of business must expect to be hit harder than others. Plant and machinery, for instance, is likely to have its premiums raised by up to 80 per cent.

According to the Association of German Plant and Machinery Industry (VDMA), this will add three per cent to sales prices, which is more than the profit margin, as a VDMA spokesman puts it.

VDMA general manager Justus Fürstenau fears that the industry, already hard hit by the drop in exports, will find itself in trouble.

"How can Bonn raise the premiums at a time when export promotion is more necessary than at any other moment in the past 20 years if it really wants to bring about an upturn? I can only ask myself if Bonn hasn't been too hasty."

Experts at the standing council of German chambers of commerce and industry (DIHT) and the Federation of German Industry (BDI) are as much at a loss to understand why Bonn is raising the premium immediately after the first year of Hermes losses following years of profitable operation.

Gieseke: "To raise the premiums now that we have export problems anyway is psychologically as wrong as can be."

These industrial organisations are by no means interested in subsidies. They simply deny that there is any need for premium increases, saying that Bonn operates with wrong figures.

Gieseke: "The figures that have been presented to us are based on a purely statistical and budgetary line of thought. They're not realistic."

Experience so far showed that even countries that appeared hopelessly insolvent at one time later paid up.

As a result, the German finance minister's liquidity problems were only temporary.

Gieseke: "If Bonn can concretely prove that the premium increase is necessary, we will agree to it. What we want is fair premiums."

Though Stoltenberg and Lambsdorff want to make the higher premiums palatable by speeding up the settlement of

of claims, this is not enough. It has been long overdue anyway.

Up to now, the Stoltenberg has taken plenty of time to honour his guarantees. "Some companies have been waiting for a year and longer to get their money," says Fürstenau.

Industry is now urging BDI President Rolf Rodenstock to take the matter up with Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself.

Reservations are also increasingly being voiced in the Bundestag. Rüdiger Walter, chairman of the Bundestag Budget Committee, has told MPs to make sure that the insurance risks do not become too great.

But at the same time he warned against over-cautiousness that could endanger orders and hence jobs: "We'll have to ask ourselves how much this would cost in terms of unemployment benefits."

It could well happen that the Labour Office would have to pay more in dole money than the Treasury would collect in extra revenue from the increased premiums.

Fürstenau: "The premium increases could easily boomerang on Bonn."

Wolfgang Hoffmann (Die Zeit, 26 August 1983)



## Foreign orders begin to decline again

German business is gloomy about export prospects for the next few months, according to a survey by Die Welt.

Exports dropped in the first half of this year by 1.9 per cent to DM211.7bn against the same period last year. But the main reason is the sluggish economic development in the most important buyer nations plus high interest rates and the indebtedness of some nations.

The capital goods and construction industries are particularly badly hit by declining foreign orders.

Some markets have almost completely dried up, particularly the Opec states. German shipments to Opec countries dropped 16.6 per cent to just under DM16bn.

This assessment is supported by the latest forecast of the HWWA Institute for Economic Research in Hamburg. After an export rise of 8.7 and 3.7 per cent (adjusted for inflation) in the past two years, the Institute predicts stagnation for the annual average of 1983 and a four per cent rise for 1984.

The economic development in the Western industrial nations (to which 78.7 per cent of German exports went in the first half of this year) will be decisive.

Sales here were 1.2 per cent below average. They amounted to DM166.6bn. Exports to EEC countries (share 49.3 per cent) dropped by 0.7 per cent.

Exports to France, Germany's most important buyer, declined 8.3 per cent to DM28.9bn. Even so, France accounted for 13.7 per cent of Germany's exports.

Exports to Britain rose 14.6 per cent to DM17.5bn (share: 8.3 per cent). Exports to the Netherlands were also up 4.2 per cent (DM18.5bn).

There was a particularly steep 36.5 per cent rise in the trade with Turkey (DM1.4bn).

The economic recovery in the USA generated only 0.2 per cent in extra exports.

Surprisingly, exports to the developing countries, excluding Opec, rose by 1.2 per cent despite the fact that shipments to Mexico and Brazil were down 56 and 24 per cent respectively.

Because of good business with the Soviet Union and China, exports to communist countries rose 11 per cent.

Hans-J. Mahnke (Die Welt, 26 August 1983)









# Criticism over plans for curbs on foreign students in Germany

Plans to introduce restrictions on foreign students in Germany and West Berlin have been heavily criticised by an educational organisation.

The plans include restricting length of stay and limiting choice of study.

DAAD, the German Academic Exchange Service, says the limitations are unnecessary, politically damaging and inept.

It says the eventual result will be to damage Germany economically and in foreign policy.

The recommendation is contained in a wide-ranging report on aliens policy presented to and passed by the Bonn government.

DAAD says fears about students staying beyond their time and damaging the German job market are based on inadequate information.

There are about 66,000 foreign students at universities in West Germany and West Berlin. About 36,000 of these are from developing countries.

Foreign students make up less than one per cent of the foreign population of West Germany and less than one per cent of the national student population, says DAAD.

DAAD is largely financed from public funds. It acts for Bonn, the Land governments and the universities abroad in education and culture. It promotes education and science in the Third World.

The report, whose recommendations are to be politically implemented by the Interior Ministry, operates on the assumption that the foreign students' stay is getting longer all the time and that many intend to stay permanently, says DAAD.

This would crowd the German job market and contradict development policy objectives.

As a result, the report recommended that the maximum stay be limited, depending on the course of studies, regardless of the stage a student had reached.

Exemptions might be granted in hardship cases, but even then the extension must not exceed two years.

DAAD says that the report's data are inadequate.

For instance, only 21,000 of the academics employed in Germany came from developing countries such as Greece and Turkey. According to DAAD, they got their jobs when Germany was short of trained university staff.

Today, the job market situation and the legal provisions governing aliens are different.

Length of foreigners' studies differed from case to case, as with German students.

There was no marked difference between the two groups. The careful selection methods applied to foreign students in the past few years had made the foreigners more successful in their studies, thus shortening their stay in this country, DAAD says.

The comment points to the "extremely effective" selection provisions for foreigners applying to study in Germany.

Resolutions adopted by the Education Ministers' Conference in the spring of 1981 had stopped the uncontrolled influx of students from Iran, Turkey,



Greece and Indonesia (which accounted for one-third of the foreign student body). This had led to a drastic drop in the number of applications.

In the autumn of the same year, the Education Ministers introduced minimum academic and language qualifications for foreign students in addition to the earlier provisions.

A Cabinet resolution of December 1981 aimed at controlling the immigration of the next-of-kin of foreigners from non-EEC countries had made studying in West Germany less attractive, despite exemptions for those who, having passed their exams, wanted to go a step further in their academic qualifications.

Major problems were also being caused by the visa requirements for people intending to spend more than three months in Germany.

This means that people interested in studying in Germany could only obtain the necessary information and file their applications abroad.

Even once a German university had granted admission, applicants were unable to meet the deadlines for language and entrance exams because of the time it took to overcome the administrative hurdles.

Academic organisations dealing with foreign students had already registered a marked drop in the number of applications. This has been confirmed by two German universities.

The number of foreigners' applications for studies at West Berlin's Technical University (which has an unusually high 18.4 per cent proportion of foreign students) dropped from 2,431 for the summer semester 1982 to 1,840 for the summer semester that has just ended.

In 1981, there were as many as 3,522 applicants.

In the winter semester, usually marked by a higher number of enrolments, the number of foreign applicants dropped within one year from 3,484 to 2,432 in the 1982/83 winter semester.

Karlsruhe University (8.1 per cent foreigners), which permitted enrolments only once a year, also had a 15 to 20 per cent drop to about 1,200 applications.

Another reason why DAAD considers length-of-stay limits for foreign students unnecessary is because the universities' examination provisions already curtail the length of studies. Language and entrance examinations could not be repeated indefinitely, and the preliminary examination must be completed by a specific semester.

Unless these deadlines were met, the residence permit could not be renewed anyway because it hinged on a student's stay at university. The introduction of a time limit for foreign students would split the student body into two classes.

"German universities would inevitably be seen abroad as practising discrimination," says DAAD.

The recommendation that foreigners be admitted only to specific faculties has also come under fire.

This would not only be a severe intrusion into the universities' sovereignty. It

## Warning about degrees that are worthless

and Austria and Switzerland are considerably more specific.

Students who have graduated in those countries are spared the recognition procedure by German examination bodies.

A similar agreement has now been signed with the Netherlands. Negotiations with France are still proceeding.

There are no barriers whatsoever for future doctors, dentists and veterinary surgeons who graduate in one of the ten EEC countries. They are subject to the EEC Council of Ministers provisions on the right of work for the self-employed.

These regulations provide for the mutual recognition of university diplomas within the Community.

In the case of diplomas that are not subject to agreements that have been approved by the Länder, there are two procedures to be followed by the holder of a foreign academic degree. Graduates must obtain permission to use a foreign degree in this country and they must have their curriculum evaluated to be permitted to continue studying at a German university or to engage in a profession.

The reason for this is to prevent abuse and misunderstandings.

would also make mock of partnership with the Third World. DAAD sees no need for restrictions here because most students already study subjects relevant to development.

This, too, has been confirmed by two universities interviewed, though the emphasis is on science and technology.

Only six per cent of the students at the Technical University of Berlin (90 per cent of them from the Third World) major in sciences.

At Karlsruhe University, 90 per cent of the foreign students from the Third World, only 1,068 were studying technological subjects.

Commenting on the recommendation to exclude foreigners from the course of studies, DAAD says very few of them wish to do that measures against this have been taken by some universities.

The suggestion that studies and practical work be in the time limit nullified by integration aid on returning to the country.

Particularly in the past, special supplementary studies developed for the subsequent application at home of the acquired at university.

Practical experience as a preparatory for a career was provided by Baden-Württemberg and from Federal and state funds.

Bonn's aliens and university also see a psychological component in the issue: telling a highly Third World student who has developed country's elite (as family or government is proud of) what he must study in the rest of his country is an insult.

Suso Wille (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 August 1983)

"The public must be able to see that somebody who has a foreign degree, either in his profession or in business, meets the standards with this degree in the Federal Republic of Germany," says an Information of the Baden-Württemberg Ministry. This is why the raised use of a foreign degree is punishable by law.

But going through this is not well worthwhile, and not only for the foreigner but also for the German.

The recognition of the degree hand-in-hand with an equalisation of the foreign degree is a Greek equals a German one.

This makes it easier for employers to get a picture of an academic achievement.

In most cases, the Education Ministry insists that the foreign degree used in the form and language it was granted.

Using the German equivalent is permissible if a comparison of course of studies shows it to be equal with that in a German university.

The evaluation of foreign degrees those wishing to go on studying is done by the universities. They are in a position to say what foreign degrees have cooperation agreements with their German counterparts and the mutual acceptance of degrees already been settled. This naturally

Continued on page 13

## RECORDS

# Federal Archives keep an eye on the past



Federal Archives, in Koblenz, is the organisation that proved that Hitler Diaries bought by the magazine were crude forgeries.

Most of the day-to-day work, however, is much less spectacular. Its job is to provide for researchers and members of the public as much information as possible with the fewest possible documents.

When I visited the archives a staff member showed me a letter on the official stationery of the Third Reich.

But this isn't. The document was a letter from the Führer to his Minister, Walter Darré. Hitler's signature was there at the bottom. So

## Foreign studies

Continued from page 12

the transfer to a German university examination bodies rule on the validity of final results corresponding to the German Staatsexamen.

The Federation of German Industry has a brochure that students with an experience applying for a job in Germany are an edge over students who have only in Germany.

Employers in the private sector are increasingly complaining about the unpopularity of German students to study abroad. But this is a limited criticism.

Personnel department heads are not much interested in a foreign degree for a semester or two abroad as part of a German university education.

Only 18,000 of Germany's 1.2 million university students summoned last year to go abroad and economic interdependence and technological progress are making increasingly dependent on managerial personnel with foreign experience. A sound foreign diploma never paves the way for a career.

Frank A. Linden (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 August 1983)

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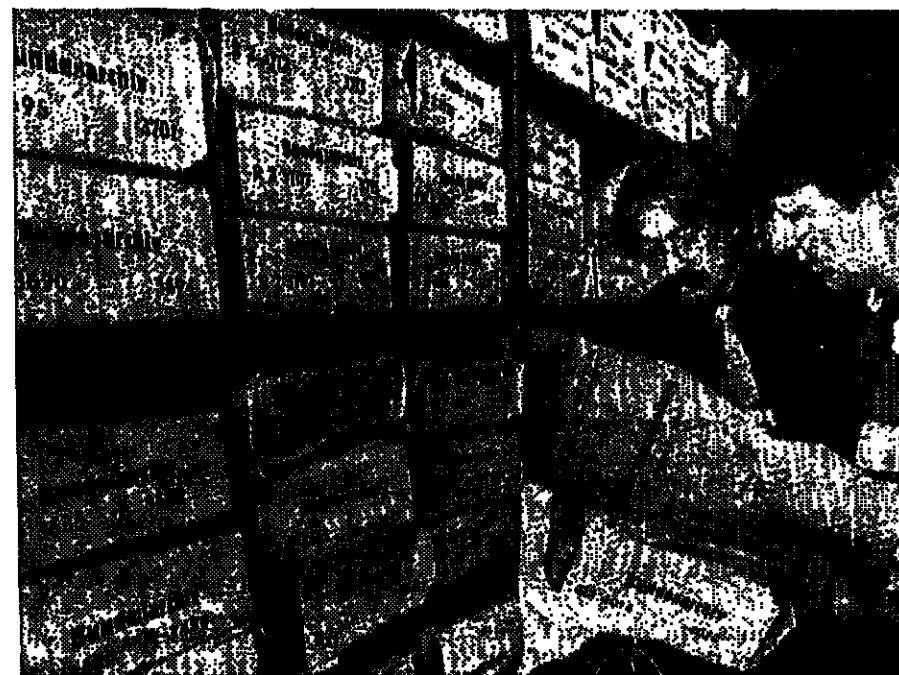
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Friedrich P. Kahlenberg (left), director of the Federal Archives, shows a journalist where to look. (Photo: AP)

agreement between the two German states in sight.

But the gaps in the Koblenz Archives mean that the institution cannot fulfil the main task it has set itself: to become "this country's most comprehensive documentation centre for research into German history," as the head of the Archives, Professor Hans Booms, puts it.

The basic stock of historic documents is enlarged every year by about 70,000 Federal authority documents.

The main function of the institution is collecting, cataloguing and analysing the documents of the Federal government and its agencies.

The archivists have long since stopped keeping track of the number of documents in their care.

Instead, the measuring unit is a metre. The total stock would reach from Cologne to Koblenz: well over 90 kilometres.

On top of this, there is the extensive collection of political posters, photographs, films and tapes.

The archivist's job is painstaking and responsible. It calls for a sound knowledge of archive methods and history coupled with good judgment.

Documents have to be sorted. The archivist tries to preserve the original sequence of the documents. He puts together registers containing information on the contents of individual dossiers.

To keep the sheer amount of paper to a minimum, the archivist must be selective. He must judge the importance of each document.

After the obligatory ten-year keeping period for the documents of Bonn Min-

istries, anything that is important must go to Koblenz. The rest is shredded.

The aim is to make it as easy as possible for the user.

Apart from researchers, the files are used by about 2,700 members of the public every year.

Most people deal with the Aachen-Kornelimünster branch of the Koblenz institution, where the personnel files of the Third Reich's armed forces (Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe and Waffen-SS) are kept, covering about 2.8 million World War II soldiers. Just about all the requests for information have to do with pension claims and similar matters.

The Freiburg branch houses the Military Archives, while the Rastatt branch is devoted to the "freedom movements in German history" and contains the relevant documents — especially from the time around 1848.

The Frankfurt branch houses primarily documents relating to the 1871 establishment of the Reich. These had to be restored in the Koblenz restoration workshops before being made accessible.

The current budget is DM22m a year, but director Booms complains about being understaffed.

The staff of 380 has remained unchanged for years but the number of documents to be processed and looked after is rising steadily.

There is, however, one silver lining: at the end of 1984 the archivists will move from their crowded quarters to brand new building in Koblenz.

Christopher Brügelmann (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 August 1983)



